

surface tones in the BAKI dialects are the same as in *Ba*.

7.2.2. The TESO-TURKANA Group

7.2.2.1. *Karimojong*

The following notes on *Km* phonology represent a rough description of sounds rather than phonemes I have come across in Kähler's 200-word-list which was the only source available to me.

7.2.2.1.1. Consonants

Km consonantal sounds are arranged tentatively as follows:

	bilab.	dental	alveo.	retrofl.	palat.	velar	post-v.	glottal
plosive	p	t̪	t, t ^h		tʃ, tʃ'	k	q	ʔ
	b, b̥		d	ɖ	dʃ, tʃ	g		
fricative		s, θ						
		ð						
			ɬ					
lateral			l					

	bilab.	dental	alveo.	retrofl.	palat.	velar
rolled			̄ , r			
			rr			
flapped				ɾ		
nasal	m	n			ɲ	ŋ
glide	w				y	

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These consonants do not all occur in any position in Köhler's material. Positioning can be summarized as follows:

word-initially and

word-medially: d , ḍ , w ;

word-medially only: b , t^h , tʃ' , d^v , tɕ , g , ɖ , ṭ ,
ɾ , y ;

word-medially and

word-finally: b , ṭ , t^v , q , s , θ , l , ̄ , r ,
m ;

word-finally only: ʔ , rr .

When comparing *km* with the other two languages of the TESO-TUR-KANA Group included in the present study, i.e., *te* and *tu*, the following sounds are likely to be *km* phonemes: p , b , t , d , t^v , d^v , k , g , s , l , r , m , n , ɲ , ŋ , w , y . This, however, does not mean that all these consonants can clearly be distinguished phonologically, nor can the remaining consonants be explained safely in terms of allophones. The post-velar plosive q , for example, in most cases occurs before vowels having the features $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{back} \\ -\text{high} \end{array} \right]$, but there are also exceptions to this rule. That the phonetic environment is not necessarily decisive for explaining the phonological value of q can be demonstrated through the following "minimal pair":

'back' a-qau : á-kà:bù 'bark'.

Comparison with other Eastern Nilotic NON-BARI languages furthermore shows that the palatal stops t^v and d^v correspond regularly to c and ɟ , respectively, and I henceforth use the latter symbols instead.



Consonant sequences

These appear to be rare in *km*:

plosive + glide	kw , gw
nasal + glide	mw .

7.2.2.1.2. Vowels

The following vocalic sounds occur regularly in Köhler's data: i , ɪ , e , ɛ , a , ɔ , o , u , u ;

i: , ɪ: , e: , ɛ: , a: , ɔ: , o: , u: , u: .

Again, positioning is not uniform: i: and ɛ: have been noted word-initially only. a: is confined to word-initial and word-medial positions. Word-medially only occur ɪ: , ɔ: , o: , u: , and u: . In word-medial and word-final positions we find ɪ , ɔ , o , and u . u is restricted to word-final positioning.

In one item each, mid-central ɐ (initially) and a nasal ɔ̃ (finally) have been found, respectively. In word-final position, Köhler occasionally writes voiceless (semi-mute?) $\frac{i}{\cdot}$, $\frac{a}{\cdot}$, $\frac{u}{\cdot}$.

Comparison with other Eastern Nilotic languages reveals a loss of final vowels in singular nouns. See section 7.6. for examples under items 'arm/hand', 'belly', 'bull/ox', 'elephant', and 'snake'.

Vowel sequences

These are evidently more numerous than consonant clusters: ie , ia , au , ɔɪ , ɔu , ou , ua . Across morpheme boundaries the following may be added: ii , iɛ , eɛ , ae , aa .

Vowel harmony

Like the other Eastern Nilotic languages *km* probably has a vowel harmony system which, however, cannot be elaborated out of Köhler's material only.

7.2.2.1.3. Tone

Köhler marks high, low, and high-falling tones, but no in-

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stance of low-rising tone is noted. Mid-tones may also exist in cases of unmarked vowels, but here no clear-cut statement can be obtained from Köhler's data.

7.2.2.2. *teso*

7.2.2.2.1. Consonants

Obstruents

Stops are prevalent among *te* phonemic obstruents, but there is also one fricative phoneme:

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	(glottal)
plosive	p	t	c	k	ʔ

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